roadside chaykhana between Kawlokan and the barracks. With the reputations of their daughters in mind, the townspeople of Rowanduz keep the enlisted personnel of the army at some distance, and, because the army has greater freedom in Kawlokan, describe its population, perhaps a hundred in all, as being wholly made up of "prostitutes and procurers." There seems to be no truth in the accusation. In addition, they do not tolerate arrack-drinking by enlisted men in Rowanduz. The story is often told how several years ago a soldier managed to become intoxicated while in town and made loud and unseemly remarks in a chaykhana. He was thrown into the gorge, and, in the inquiry into his death, the townspeople asserted that, while drunk, he claimed "he was able to fly," and that they knew nothing of the matter beyond this.

There are, at times, government agents of other departments at work in the district, for example, those of the Directorate-General of Agriculture, but their connections are with Erbil or Baghdad, rather than with Rowanduz itself. Some of the most important of these are the engineers of the department charged with public works, for they utilize local labor in their constructions. In the summer of 1951 one such engineer was engaged in resurfacing the road between Rowanduz and Jiadian, and some fifty men from Rowanduz and the district were employed in this work. There are any number of others, such as repairmen for the telephone and telegraph lines, who frequent the area.

The town of Rowanduz, as has been noted, has a population of some 5,000 persons, the constitution of which shall be dealt with later. A town of this size qualifies as a municipality (Arabic, baladiya) and the qaimmaqam of Rowanduz occupies, in addition to his own office, that of rais baladiya, a position similar to that of an American mayor, save that it is appointive rather than elective. Normally the rais baladiya in Iraq has a headquarters, comparable to the American city hall, and a staff of his own, including a treasurer and other officials. In Rowanduz, however, there has not been any particular need for the institution of such a separate body, and "metropolitan" administrative requirements are met through qadha or district facilities.

The problems presented by town administration appear to be very slight. Public order is maintained by the qadha-police and minor violations of the civil code (few of the townspeople have recourse to "tribal law") as well as legal processes are handled directly by the judge. In comparison with the outlying districts, the town is relatively law-abiding, aside from a certain amount of juvenile pilfering. Quarrels among women are quite frequent, the cause most often a fight between their children. Such skirmishes begin with words ("prostitute" is a favorite), and degenerate to hair-pulling or an exchange of blows with kabkabs (a wooden sandal with a leather strap; in Arabic, qubqab or qabqab). The neighbors usually intervene, and rarely, if ever, does such a thing require official attention. Fighting between men is infrequent, but can become

grievances of the former and explaining and facilitating 622
the operations of the latter. He is called upon to certify certain government documents, such as an order for a young man's conscription, together with two chosen old men who act as witnesses. Ra'uf Effendi claimed to be assisted by two informal "agents" who brought him secretly the news circulating in the town, probably his own device for keeping in regular touch with popular opinion. Socially the office of mukhtar presupposes a qualification of wealth, for he [556] [574]
is expected to maintain a diwankhana (a room in his house in which guests of social distinction could be appropriately received and entertained). Although Rowanduz itself is non-tribal and the people as a whole pay no allegiance to a chieftain, it will be seen in comparison with later exposition that the mukhtar, with several other wealthy men, [554]
occupies a position in society analogous to that of an aristocrat. In fact, a girl, castigated by her relatives [627] ●
in a love affair; may seek sanctuary in the house of the mukhtar, a custom which is solely reserved for chieftains in the countryside. Such a case occurred in 1949 and Ra'uf Effendi was able to smooth over the affair, arranging the girl's marriage with the youth in question.

In closing this section it remains to contrast the 175 634 648
present administration of the district with that of the Ottoman Empire immediately prior to the first World War. In that time Rowanduz was the seat (a kaza) of a qaimmaqam under the Kirkuk sanjaq of the vilayet of Mosul. Administratively it was thought as important as Erbil and, as

considerable social intercourse between the two groups. 186 563 571
Unfortunately, the Nestorians, unable to find land in Iraq, took service with the British, particularly in the infantry levy battalions, and had a part, among other things, in crushing two Kurdish revolts. There are many of them settled in the Rowanduz area, at Batas, Dara Harir and Dyana, and, while outwardly amicable, the Kurds feel toward them a certain amount of distrust and, in view of their alliance with the British, especially in the lucrative occupations of the Iraq Petroleum Company, jealousy. For their part, [167] the Nestorians live in fear of massacre, and as many as are able migrate abroad. The Christians of this native [582] group are just as adamant in the matter of the marriage of their daughters to Muslims as the Muslims are toward them. One can find Muslims in Baghdad with American, British, or German wives, but never Armenian or Chaldaean.

There is a curious sociological fact to be seen here. 627 837 548
Muslim girls who become prostitutes (in fact, any Muslim woman whose reputation has been questioned) are in imminent danger of being slain by their relatives, and the Baghdad press is filled daily with such killings. Thus most of [553] them assume Christian names, often of a cinema favorite, and wear a cross conspicuously at the throat, changing outwardly their religion to avoid detection. Islam 771 commands tremendous respect from its followers and is a 578 "proud" religion, one of warriors and conquerors. A Muslim may be cursed by a non-Muslim to a certain point,

and for this reason he is glad to give a share of his produce, if only that his ruler, the symbol of the group, can show hospitality, which is, in fact, that of the poor villager himself. These aristocratic guest-rooms, in addition to providing food and shelter for whoever seeks them, are used to some extent as a clubhouse for the men, and a commoner, tribesman or tenant, can appear during the day for tea, tobacco, and the latest gossip. The chieftains themselves use them for what, in want of a better term, might be called their "courts," where they entertain friends and visitors, hear the complaints and news of their people, and direct their various activities. The etiquette of entering such a guest-room is exactly like that described above for a chaykhana, or tea-shop, and the activity is much the same, talking and smoking, although the atmosphere is more solemn and the refreshments gratis. As in the case of the Arab Bedouin, a stranger may enjoy hospitality unchallenged for three days, and after this period the chieftain, while he does not send him away, may ask his name and his errand. Questioning the hospitality of a chieftain, which constitutes a reflection on his people, is an extremely grave insult, and can also provide the basis of a feud. Thus visitors in a remote district must avail themselves of the chieftain's guest-room, for, if they do not, it may be thought an insult is intended. Speaking of a party of strangers in the Baradost country, a Kurd said, "It is necessary for them

now fallen into disuse. In imitation of the aristocracy, many of the most powerful maintained followings of armed men and diwankhanas open to the public, and one might compare them to the "merchant princes" of other lands, for example, the burghers of Medieval Germany. They were, in fact, a pseudo-aristocracy. After the sack of the town during the first World War, and the decline of trade, this class suffered greatly in numbers and in wealth, although it is still represented by such persons as Ra'uf Effendi in the group of commoners designated effendis. One example of the manner in which the chalabis and their modern successors have assumed the functions of the chieftainship is illustrated by sanctuary. In 1949 a girl of the town, detected in illicit relations with a young man, took refuge in Ra'uf Effendi's house. He protected her and arranged her marriage with the youth in question, with, one might add, the help of the police. One of the chief characteristics of this highest commoner group is its mobility, for any person who has obtained great wealth can add himself to it, just as those whose fortunes have declined can lose its distinction.

The second concept operating to form a hierarchy in the commoner group is the distinction between skilled and unskilled labor. The lesser merchants and craftsmen, as one might expect, are of a higher status than common laborers. This group of more favored persons includes the carpenters, cloth-sellers, cobblers, masons, poorer shopkeepers, tailors,

initial advance, and he must slap her or draw his knife with 585
a threatening gesture. This done, sometimes seriously, the couple may retire to their bed.

The virginity of a maiden must be attested, and from the white undergarments and bedding the maid who makes up the room in the morning is able to report on her "virtue," for the only test is the blood of the hymen. Occasionally the youth will smear a handkerchief with this blood and present it to his mother. In either case, the mother kisses the girl on the forehead and praises her for her chastity. The stained handkerchief, accompanied by an expensive gift, may be sent to the mother of the girl. If no blood is in evidence, a suspicious husband can return the girl to her father's house, and her relatives are more or less obligated to kill her. If, however, the youth's father is "pious," he requests his son to pardon the girl and to say nothing. After the bride has remained for seven days, a delegation of women from her father's house escorts her to her old home for a visit of several days. Her husband comes to take her a second time, on this occasion with no ceremony, and exchanges gifts with his father-in-law at this meeting. The feasting and dances which accompany the wedding can endure for a week or more, but most townspeople consider two or three days sufficient. The marriages of the poor are conducted with less ostentation, although relatively high sums may be expended, and those of the Kurdish aristocracy with the greatest display, the slaughter of dozens of animals

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8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

The Clan Agha

The gund Aghas' relations to their tenants has now been defined; they in turn owe allegiance to the Agha of the taifa. This individual also may glibly claim to own all the land of all the gunds under his suzerainty, but his ownership is of a much more nominal variety than that of the gund Agha. The taifa Agha does not levy any specific charge upon his underlings but rather receives from them gifts in proportion to his usefulness. Thus Hamid Amin Agha of Nsupurdan, even though he belonged to the same tira as Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash head of the Mullasherifi and nominal paramount of all the Balik, did not admit that the latter was in any general sense his superior; though Sheikh Mohammad for his part claimed that Hamid Amin was his vassal. This discrepancy I think is only partly due to the recent loosening of political ties. In general it would appear that prior to the coming of the external administration the function of the taifa Agha was roughly that of arbitrator and court of appeal rather than dominating overlord. He seems to have been called in to arbitrate in small scale feuds, settle disputes between neighbouring villages over grazing rights and water, settle divorce disputes and so forth. For these services he would be suitably recompensed by the parties to the dispute.

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This system of justice was doubtless exceedingly corrupt by European standards, but probably worked tolerably well. It is not clear what sanctions could be employed to enforce judiciary decisions of this sort. Today the clansman is encouraged to short-circuit the traditional machinery of the Aghas' courts and appeal for justice direct to the police. To some extent the two systems continue to operate side by side but with the continual lessening of the Aghas' authority litigation tends more and more to be a matter for the external administration only. I tried to obtain some opinions as to the relative efficiency of the old system and the new. The results were interesting. It was admitted that the decisions of the Agha in the old days were somewhat arbitrary, being based on considerations of wealth and nepotism rather than moral right, but at least a decision was arrived at quickly. The modern procedure on the other hand though plainly well intentioned is considered in practice to be slow, complicated and costly, and since the wealthier litigant can nearly always manage to appeal to a higher court if the first decision goes against him, the "justice" is nearly as one sided as before. Moreover it was argued that the police were just as corrupt as the Aghas with the disadvantage that, whereas formerly the Aghas were to some extent limited in their decisions by kinship obligations, the police had no interest at all except to sell justice to the highest bidder. Though this is certainly an overstatement of the case, many of the Iraqi police do appear to be exceedingly corrupt. So much so in fact that the new Qa'im Maqam of Rowanduz, chief magistrate of the district, was generally acclaimed by all as the almost unique example of a sincere

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8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

627 692 and honest administrator. The venality of the junior police officers has probably an important effect upon the economic status, and hence the influence of the Aghas. The position was put to me thus by Hamid Amin Agha of Dergala. "In the old days" he said "all my followers gave me presents; nowadays few can afford to, they must keep in well with the police and then they have nothing left for me".

622 721 In earlier times the taifa Agha was probably in a position to organise small scale military activities; even today this would appear to be partly true. I was told for instance that in 1936 Ali Agha of Rayat, head of the Shevdini, had led his men across the border and sacked a Persian police post in reprisal for the latter having impounded some of his clansmens' cattle. Naturally such incidents are strongly disapproved of by the authorities.

The Tribal Agha

619 622 "In the case of the Balik, as we have seen, the Agha of the largest taifa, Mullasherifi, is also Agha paramount of the whole tribe, and this is doubtless the normal rule. His function as tribal Agha does not ever seem to have amounted to very much except in time of war, in which case he automatically became leader of the whole group and doubtless received economic benefits accordingly. In time of peace he only receives small token payments, such as gifts of fruit and the like, from his more remote subordinates.

[721] The evidence concerning the actual behaviour of the Balik during the disturbed times of 1914-1920 is contradictory. Sheikh Mohammad asserts that he led his people to a victorious massacre of the invading Russian army; Hamid Amin of Naupurdar on the other hand says that Sheikh Mohammad ran away and that it was he Hamid Amin who saved the remnants of the Balik from annihilation and finally routed the Russians. Whatever really happened, it seems clear that Sheikh Mohammad as head of the Mullasherifi ought to have led the Balik to war, whether he actually did so or not.

The first effect of contact with the external administration was certainly to increase the influence of the tribal Agha at the expense of his fellows. Thus Hay ingenuously remarks (p. 67) "The tribal chief has many obligations towards his tenants and tribesmen, the most important of which is that he will become their spokesman in all matters which concern the Government". The British

[731] "Hay (p. 68) states that it is the custom to present the paramount chief with a pregnant ewe from every considerable flock at the beginning of the year. Hay however makes no distinction between tribes and clans and the obligation may be towards the Agha of the taifa rather than the ashiret.